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‘Pilgrimage to Chipundu’: Livingstone’s legacy among Scottish missionaries in Northern Rhodesia/Zambia, 1950s – 1970s

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ABSTRACT

David Livingstone travelled in central Africa from the early 1850s until his death in 1873. His call for others to continue his work has inspired missionaries since then. Our paper explores this aspect of Livingstone’s legacy through interviews with retired Church of Scotland missionaries who lived and worked in Northern Rhodesia/Zambia from the 1950s to the 1970s. The interviews reveal that Livingstone was remembered in both overt and subtle ways. Most significantly we argue that his career provided a temporal marker from which our interviewees assessed their own work and experiences a century later. Recalling Livingstone’s life also provided significant geographical meaning for our interviewees as they worked in those same spaces that Livingstone did. The paper also discusses the changes to missionary life in the 1960s, when Zambia achieved independence.

KEY WORDS: David Livingstone, Church of Scotland missionaries, missionary activity, Central African Federation, national liberation

Introduction

On 1 May 1973 at Chipundu in Zambia nearly one thousand people met at the cairn which marked the spot where David Livingstone died a century before. The event was planned by the Christian community of Zambia and was intended to be a mainly religious commemoration (Currie, 2011). Nevertheless the Zambian government was supportive and the president, Kenneth Kaunda, arrived by helicopter to address the crowd. The 'Pilgrimage to Chipundu' (see figure 1) remembered Livingstone's death, following the Christian tradition of marking a saint's death as a birth into heaven. The event also commemorated his legacy as a bringer of Christianity to central Africa and, as the poster suggests, a leader in the fight against slavery (figure 1). Kaunda told the crowd that Livingstone was 'Africa's first freedom fighter', neatly linking himself, the first president of the independent Republic of Zambia, with the famous explorer (Mufuzi, 2012). This was a dramatic move. In nascent postcolonial states it was easy to dispose of the icons of imperialism and to see independence as a sharp break with all things 'colonial' (Larsen, 2012). But, the multiple legacies of Livingstone's career defied such moves in both Zambia and neighbouring Malawi, where towns still retain names that honour him. In this paper we will examine how Livingstone was remembered by those who we might assume to be his most direct descendants, the Scottish missionaries who lived and worked in Northern Rhodesia/Zambia from the 1950s to the 1970s, often near Chipundu itself.

The site of Chipundu was known as Chitambo when Livingstone died there, but the eponymous Chief moved his village thirty kilometres from the burial site in later years taking the name with him. Today, remote Chipundu is best known as the site where Livingstone died and where his heart (and other major organs) was buried. Tourists have visited the site since Livingstone died and the modern cairn was erected in 1900 using funds raised by the Royal Geographical Society and with the support of the British

South Africa Company, who, since 1891, had governed Northeastern Rhodesia by Royal Charter (1900; 1923).

The religious tone of the 1973 event contrasts with the secular, colonial tone of the earlier 1955 centennial commemoration of Livingstone's first visit – or 'discovery' – of Victoria Falls. The 1955 event, held at the beginning of the last decade of colonial rule, was an occasion where the European settlers in the town of Livingstone reified their presence and drew upon the explorer's reputation to endorse the entire colonial project – and hopefully draw more tourists to the somewhat moribund town (Lewis, 2011).

Differences between an event held in Northern Rhodesia in 1955 and one held in Zambia in 1973 are obviously expected. Yet, it is interesting to note that 'remembering' Livingstone in those same spaces that the explorer/medic/missionary himself travelled and died has been a persistent activity that transcends politics. How Livingstone has been remembered changes over time – from martyr to tourist attraction – but he is nonetheless continually remembered (Mufuzi, 2012; Wingfield, 2012). The 'Livingstone 200' bicentennial celebrations of his birth are the most recent examples of his commemoration.¹ Both Africans and Europeans have used his legacy, albeit in different ways. This essay examines how Livingstone's legacy was remembered by Scottish missionaries who worked in central Africa from the 1950s to the 1970s. Here we hope to use very personal accounts of life in the field, stories from members of missionary families, to examine why they did their work and how they dealt with the ever-present memory of David Livingstone. In this way we intend to use individual narratives to illuminate the workings of much larger processes (Lorimer & Spedding, 2005). In looking at these narratives we do not provide a comprehensive history of missions in central African during the late colonial period although we use the recent work in this area by Cox, Stuart and Lyon to provide the necessary context for our interviews (Lyon, 1998; Cox, 2008a; Stuart, 2011). We will instead focus on how recollections of

Livingstone's life and career intersected with our interviewees' own experiences of working as missionaries.

Methodology

We base our analysis on fourteen interviews carried out in Scotland with Church of Scotland ex-missionaries sent to Northern Rhodesia/Zambia (some spent part of their careers in Malawi). The social background, education and vocation of the missionaries varied, with a mixture of medical doctors, teachers, ministers and housewives represented. All had received some tertiary education, and some were from ministerial families in Scotland or the children of missionaries. All our interviewees worked in Africa during some part of the 1950s through to the 1970s (with one working in Zambia between 1974 and 1994). They are personally connected to one another through their work and social lives in Africa, and several have maintained strong friendships from their shared faith and experiences as missionaries. The closeness of relationships of interviewees here produces its own set of methodological concerns, including a question asked by Ipenburg in his analysis of the development of the Church of Scotland mission at Lubwa in Zambia: 'How far is the knowledge of the interviewees independent of each other?' (1992). Although we found the missionaries to be a tightly knit network, their experiences of different mission stations at different times allows for some comparison of their views even if we are ultimately looking to present an overview. Due to the intimate nature of the network, we will leave our interviewees anonymous.

In our research the connectivity of narratives, the reliability of oral sources (based as they are on memories of events that took place half a century ago or more) and the validity of accounts offered by participants are open points for discussion. Certainly, though, the interview material is strongly supported by published narratives, historical records, and secondary literature. Further, if the descriptions of individual ex-missionaries' activities and/or feelings about Livingstone are varied and at times

contradictory, this bolsters our overall argument that in Africa the identity 'missionary', like the name 'Livingstone', evokes not one but many meanings and several sets of historical relationships and loyalties (Cox, 2008a).

Remembering Livingstone and his multiple legacies

The practice of recalling the career of David Livingstone performs many tasks. We remember famous episodes of his life: the lion attack, discovering Victoria Falls, 'Dr Livingstone I presume?', his corpse being carried to the coast by Chuma and Susi (Pettitt, 2007; Livingstone, 2012). Livingstone himself can be remembered in different ways, as missionary, explorer, abolitionist and humanitarian; by the turn of the twentieth century he was used as an example of a heroic, moral life (Riffenburgh, 1993; Driver, 1996). In the context of the 'scramble of Africa' in the 1880s and 1890s he was used to inspire a more formal era of imperialism in Africa (Helly, 1987). Today he is more of a tourist attraction and motivation for continued connections between Scotland and Zambia and Malawi. It is not contentious to argue that he is the most famous of all Victorian missionary heroes, even if closer analysis reveals him to be an atypical missionary. Most missionaries were (and are) directly occupied with building and maintaining institutions while Livingstone did not build any himself (Cox, 2008a; Cox, 2008b). Instead of focusing on individual conversion, he wanted to change the economy, culture and religion of an entire region (Ross, 2002).

In this paper we highlight the use of Livingstone as a temporal marker, a point in the African past where a baseline can be set and a historical narrative can begin. His descriptions of Africa and the people who lived there as published in *Missionary Travels and Researches* and *A Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi*, offer such a wealth of detail that it is easy to compare social, material and economic situations then – as he described them – to any subsequent time (Livingstone, 1857; Livingstone & Livingstone, 1865). A good example of this is a postage stamp of Victoria Falls issued in

the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland to celebrate the centenary of the waterfalls' 'discovery'. On one side of the falls we see an explorer being carried in a stretcher by Africans in 1855, on the other side a De Havilland Comet jet aeroplane flying overhead in 1955; a clear claim for progress is being made about what has been achieved 'since Livingstone'.

Livingstone's life therefore can mark a beginning, although which beginning depends on how the history is framed: the birth of Christianity in central Africa, the first moves towards colonialism, the beginning of social and economic development in the region or the end of central African prehistory? For our interviewees Livingstone marked the beginning of significant, and nearly continuous Scottish missionary activity in the region.² In 1958 James Griffiths, a long-standing Welsh Labour MP who had been Secretary of State for the Colonies under Clement Atlee in 1950–51, published *Livingstone's Africa Yesterday and Today* (1958). His essay is an extended reflection on what had happened in Africa since Livingstone: what was good (sanitation, health care, education, Christianity) and what was bad (racism, apartheid and colour bars, communism). He argued that everyone in the West shared the responsibility for the effects of colonialism (good or bad) and he looked for a postcolonial future of racial partnership. Nevertheless the tone of the book is not overly optimistic and he uses Livingstone's example as a call for Britain to do more for Africa. Significantly, he noted a danger to Livingstone's missionary legacy in the form of secular African nationalism: 'This is the challenge to the Christian Church in the new Africa that is emerging: that the black man will come to regard it as a symbol of white rule, and even more, as the enemy of his social and political aspirations.' (p.54).

We will return to the critique of missionary work as cultural imperialism below, but it is interesting that Griffiths represents this critique as an unfair and unfounded threat to missionary motivations since the time of Livingstone's travels. During the 1950s the

very idea of missionary work was seen as anachronistic by some sectors of society, even within the churches themselves (Stuart, 2011). Yet, while there were many in Britain who were sympathetic to African nationalism and sought an end to all European influence, they were troubled that the social and material benefits brought by colonialism would be overshadowed by the system's injustices. Missionary work was included in this challenging legacy and all would be tallied in what Margery Perham referred to in her 1961 BBC Reith Lectures as the 'colonial reckoning' (1963).

Both African nationalists and bitter-end colonialists could, and did, look to Livingstone for inspiration as his life could mark the beginning of a process of which they were involved (Dritsas & Haig, under review). European missionaries, who often felt peripheral to the colonial process, looked to him for religious example. African Christians similarly revere Livingstone as the bringer of the Gospel while others portray him as an arch-imperialist (Cox, 2008a). Hence, in the 1950s missionaries confusingly found themselves accused of destroying aspects of African culture as modernist cultural imperialists at the same time they were celebrated for bringing the universal truth of Christianity to the region (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1991). In what can be read as a continuation of this problematic legacy, Zambian civil society continues to debate today what it means to be a postcolonial 'Christian Nation' (Phiri, 2003). Although they threw off British colonialism, Zambians and Malawians have overwhelmingly adopted European forms of Christianity. Livingstone, who was directly responsible for beginning the Christian missionary movement in Zambia and Malawi, therefore remains directly relevant to twenty-first century reflections upon this history of conversion. In what follows we will use material from the interviews we conducted with retired Scottish missionaries to explore how Livingstone was remembered by Scottish missionaries at the end of the colonial period. First we will describe our interviewees and then examine the content of the interviews through the exploration of a number of themes.

Becoming a missionary

A range of influences acted on individuals at various stages in early life to pull them to missionary work in Africa. These included parental influences (several were sons or daughters of ministers), personal reading, overseas contact (including letters from missionaries), Sunday School and Boy Scouts, attending lectures given by missionaries home on leave, university studies, journal subscriptions (e.g., the *Scottish Geographical Journal* and *Africa South*) and through exposure to campaigns at university tying the political rights and freedoms of Africans to missionary endeavour.

Personal reading was an important medium through which children and adults learned about Africa. One interviewee was able to show us the copy of James MacNair's *Livingstone the Liberator* which he had read and inspired him when he 'went out'.

(1940) Others reported being similarly inspired through personal reading of published accounts about famous Scottish missionaries such as Livingstone and Mary Slessor, but also by reading the works of inspirational figures such as the missionary doctor Albert Schweitzer or the Scottish evangelist D. P. Thomson. Our interviewees also recalled attending lectures given by missionaries on leave and, during their careers, speaking at such events themselves about their own work in Africa. Fergus MacPherson discusses his speeches at such events in 1950–51 in his published memoir, *North of the Zambezi* (1998). These missionary events were hosted by various organisations, such as church congregations, Women's Guilds and youth clubs. The events might include missionaries working around the globe and be livened by light musical entertainment. This 'deputation work' was a constant activity for missionaries home on leave (see chapter seven in Macpherson, 1998). Related to the touring missionaries was the impact of the Scottish National Memorial to David Livingstone which opened in 1929 in Blantyre (Macnair, 1944). The memorial comprises the tenement in which Livingstone was born

and some surrounding parkland. It remains a popular destination for school and church groups and an interviewee 'vividly' remembered his visit there as a boy.

Interest in politics and social justice, even if paternalistic, was also an important motivator. Writing of his missionary parents, John Gerrard describes the inspiration of the early missionary-explorers as a clear inspiration to his father, but also a more general view that, 'Church-going British people [in 1915] felt a responsibility for the Africans who lived in the new territories that had come under British or South African rule during the previous 30 or 40 years' (2001). With the era of the Scramble for Africa over, Victorian-era missionary societies successfully navigated the Great War and the interwar period almost unchanged (Cox, 2008a). However, after the Second World War, a new breed of missionary recruit emerged that was less comfortable with colonialism (and its benefits for missionary work). The new post-war missionaries' concerns were African nationalism, the problems of unequal race relations, Communism and nuclear war (Stuart, 2011). In Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, many missionaries joined the movement against the Central African Federation, not knowing how else to maintain their position without, as Griffiths warned, becoming inextricably linked to the colonial hierarchy. In spite of this threat, or initially naïve to it, young Scots went out in the 1950s to help Africans fight the injustices of colonialism.

Some of our interviewees were medical missionaries, nurses and doctors who staffed the mission hospitals. They had been inspired from a variety of sources to use their skills to 'heal bodies and souls' (Jennings, 2008). With their medical qualifications (and religious convictions) they went to work in remote locations, running hospitals and dispensaries with limited funds and staff. Organisations such as the Edinburgh Medical Mission Society had long-standing procedures for training medical students in theological and missionary studies. After a year or so training in a 'home' medical mission, often in socially deprived urban locations (such as Edinburgh's Cowgate) the

young doctors would be ready for life abroad (Wilkinson, 1991). Livingstone's own identity as a medical doctor meant that his career was clearly linked to all future medical missionaries in the region.

Living in the bush

Many ex-missionaries we spoke with recalled the journey to Africa, the remoteness of their mission station and the challenges of life in the bush as integral parts of missionary life. Hearing their stories and reading published narratives reveals these tales to be romantic, nostalgic narratives, directly comparable to the trials faced by early missionary explorers. From accounts of the month-long journey by ship, train and bus to rural mission stations, to accounts of childbirth and child burial, ex-missionaries described extremes that were, as one phrased it, 'the stuff of unlikely adventure stories—but true!'. They saw the challenges as part of their service and dedication to the Christian cause in Africa. One interviewee commented that 'The life expectancy of missionaries heading out to West Africa was low, but they wanted to commit themselves and they knew they would suffer to do that, as did we. I always knew I may lose ten years of my life, but it would be worth it.' It was mentioned by some that, as difficult as tropical life could be, they did have better medicines, and a better understanding of what caused tropical illnesses, than Livingstone did.

Missionaries in the later twentieth century often travelled as families. Bringing one's spouse and children, and the arrival of more children in the field, offered new challenges and sacrifices to them. In Northern Rhodesia/Zambia a particular problem was providing an adequate education for their children. One solution was boarding school in Britain, and another was the Sakeji Mission School. Located near Mwinilunga in the Northwest Province Sakeji was founded in 1922 for the children of missionaries working in Congo, Angola and Zambia. Sakeji was felt to be closer than Britain, of course, but for our interviewees based mainly in the northeastern part of the country, the school

was still 900 miles away and the children only came home twice a year for holidays. Despite the possibility of education in the country, many families chose to return to Scotland when their children reached the age of secondary education.

Reflecting on their own family experiences, our interviewees could relate to Livingstone's own personal sacrifices. He was often far from his family and he saw his children die from tropical fevers. Recent studies of the life of Mary Livingstone demonstrate that she was often left to fend for herself while David worked in Africa. She died in 1862 only a few weeks after joining him on the Zambesi Expedition; she left five children behind in Britain with relatives (Davidson, 2012). Our own interviewees had made similar sacrifices, many had lost a child or suffered serious illness themselves while living in Africa. Even in the middle decades of the twentieth century tropical diseases and complications during childbirth were grave threats. Our female interviewees in particular felt affinity to Mary's story and all agreed that Livingstone's treatment of his family in general was less than ideal.

More generally the missionaries would reflect on their existence in remote parts of Africa with humble acceptance. Again Livingstone appears as a temporal marker. Our interviewees compared how life in early twenty-first century Africa has changed since their time overseas. One noted that while Chitambo Hospital did not have a phone in the 1950s, it now offers a hospital nurse training course supported by online learning.

³ But they would also compare the situation they had in the 1950s with 'what it must have been like when Livingstone was here'. They all agreed that their life in the 1950s showed a lot of progress since Livingstone's time: graded roads, telephones in major towns, radio news via the BBC World Service. Always for our interviewees, speaking of their own challenges encouraged comparisons to Livingstone's experiences a century earlier.

The former Church of Scotland missionaries that we spoke with all worked in a part of Africa that Livingstone had spent much of his own life in. This connection was very helpful in a practical way: it located their work more precisely for people home in Britain, 'When I came back on leave and spoke with people, Livingstone was an easy way to explain where we were, and people did say, "You're treading in Livingstone's footsteps", but of course [...] he got carried through these areas anyway. I never got carried anywhere – I was on my bike!' In this way Livingstone acts as a geographical marker, a region in central Africa that can be described more readily than other places with less historical connection. Chitambo Hospital is located 'near the place where Livingstone died' and the cairn the still marks the spot is a destination (Currie, 2011). Meanwhile, important centres of missionary and economic life in Zambia and Malawi recall the explorer's life in the region: Livingstone in Zambia and Blantyre and Livingstonia in Malawi. One interview remarked that although he had not thought much about Livingstone before 'going out', once in the field, 'Livingstone was everywhere'.

One way in which our interviewees thought about their own work and the work of their predecessors, including Livingstone, was in their approach to the people and the natural world. Missionary life was changing dramatically in the 1940s and an interviewee remarked that it was the last decade when missionaries took on scientific pursuits alongside their mission work, as Livingstone did. Many continued to collect butterflies and songs or study local language in depth, but it was for personal interest as a hobby rather than as a real scientific contribution. An interviewee made comparisons to Cullen Young, a missionary at Livingstonia from 1904–1931 who 'published stuff on culture, customs and language' (Forster, 1989). But even Young was of an earlier, pre-war, generation and was still part explorer. It had been the 'habit' of earlier missionaries to send geographical information back to Scotland, said one interviewee, but 'we weren't collecting specimens of Africa. That was banged into us in missionary training. Our job was to let the Africans develop to collect specimens for themselves, if they wanted to, to

push them forward.' In this way the new young missionaries were distinguishing themselves from 'imperial' traditions of the colonial polymath; they would focus on their mission work.

Other interviewees offered a different explanation for the move away from collecting and ethnography, 'I was there because that was home. I only brought and accrued things of personal importance to me when I left. Gear, portables, don't matter a great deal to me. What was I doing? Living, bringing up children, helping people stay alive [as a medical doctor]'. In other words, by approaching the African landscape as not-exotic they consciously tried to normalise it, see it as Africans do, as one would one's home. Of course for many Scottish missionaries central Africa *was* home. Like Mary Livingstone they were born to missionary parents themselves. Britain for them was always a slightly foreign place. Life in the bush was life.

Missionary children do not receive much attention in literature about missionary experiences, but missions were family spaces, too. Their children were born and grew up in Africa, it truly was their home and the climate and landscape was their 'normal'. Reflecting on how their children approached African wildlife one interviewee said, 'Our daughter carries with her a deep knowledge, for example of the intricacies of the chameleon, why it changes colour, the folklore around it, and the doom and gloom of it, just from playing with them and from hearing the other children say that she mustn't touch it when it was this or that colour because it would mean such-and-such. But that's not written down, she just carries that with her. It's part of living, you don't think of it as something to collect.'

Knowledge of the people was yet another area where our informants knew that earlier missionaries going back to Livingstone practiced ethnography, but in the 1950s and 1960s they did not. Yet, they felt that they knew a great deal about the people. 'In the 1960s an anthropologist arrived at Mwenzo. He wouldn't have anything to do with us at

all. He didn't want any white interpretations at all contaminating his work. Even though we were sitting there with all that knowledge and experience. Anyway, he went away and wrote it all up. We couldn't make any sense of it.' Our informants were well aware of new approaches and professionalization in the social sciences and the use colonial governments were making of this knowledge (Cooper, 2004). One said, 'the professionalization of disciplines like anthropology meant that the missionaries' place in that changed. And, like I said, times had changed.' Another argued that they were not collectors at all anymore, in any formal sense. 'We were head down and had to get on with it [our mission work]'. But, an anthropologist visited them regularly, 'His wife was an educational psychologist and she sat in the village observing the children. He told us all sorts of things that we didn't know about the local people—stories from the local drinking sessions, which we didn't have time for, even if we'd had inclination.'

African nationalism and anti-colonialism

One area where missionaries identified with Livingstone's goals was their motivation to help Africans live free from oppression. In Livingstone's time the oppression was slavery, for our interviewees it was colonialism, insofar as it produced unequal race relations discrimination. During the 1950s, Scottish missionaries in Central Africa (along with their allies on the Edinburgh-based Scottish Council for African Questions) applied serious political pressure on colonial and British governments to promote African nationalist causes. John Stuart argues that the young Scots missionaries in the post-war era saw 'evangelism as a useful adjunct to political action' and that this stance would both secure the future of the missionary movement in Africa while also, hopefully, invigorating the Church in Scotland (Stuart, 2011). Anti-colonialism and, specifically, protest against the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, was a cause that Scots could focus upon. Certainly our interviewees talked proudly of their card-carrying affiliation with African nationalist political parties and of boycotting the 1960–61 Monkton

Commission, a review of the Federal constitution. Their political stance was a point of pride upon which they differentiated themselves from other Europeans who worked for the colonial civil service or in private enterprise (Lonsdale, 2002). Although beyond the scope of this paper, soon after independence the missionaries in Malawi and Zambia realised that the achievement of independence was bittersweet: authoritarianism, corruption and tribalism quickly appeared as forces of oppression against which they would need to help their congregations struggle (Ross, 2009). Similarly, policies to 'Africanise' the upper levels of the work force introduced after independence meant that, sooner or later, the Europeans were working themselves out of their jobs and that their successors would be African.

Maintaining an identity distinct from the colonial government was important for missionaries in the 1950s and early 1960s. Nonetheless, they did need to interact with the other Europeans living near them, even if this could be a challenge. One told us of how they interacted with the local colonial administrators, 'Our social life was good, really. We had the boma [district capital] near Lubwa, and kept a good relationship with the boma in a sense, but we couldn't help but get on the wrong side of them. Some of their actions were just so against what we knew as the right ones.' Missionaries believed that their work transcended empires, their message was universal (Cox, 2008a). They had to speak out against the injustices of colonialism even if it angered their sometime social acquaintances. They were also actively seeking a place for themselves and their religion in a postcolonial African society.

Post-war missionaries were painfully aware that their predecessors had made use of colonialism in earlier decades and therefore (and quite quickly in the 1950s), new models of mission had to be found – or accepted – for the postcolonial period.

Increasingly the churches were coming under the control of Africans themselves, the churches could not continue to apply the same colour bars to advancement that existed

in colonial government and private enterprise. These moves occurred despite reservations among some Europeans that it was happening too soon (Cox, 2008a). The most significant change in this direction for our interviewees was in 1965. That year many missionary societies and Protestant congregations in Zambia, including the Church of Scotland, merged to form the locally controlled United Church of Zambia (UCZ). This move was inevitable as Zambia became independent the year before and religious life had to follow. Our interviewees talked of their new role as missionaries working for a Zambian church as offering novel experiences. They were still paid and supported by the Church of Scotland and the UCZ still needed foreign missionaries but, with the approval of the missionary societies, the new arrangement shifted control to Zambia. As one interviewee told us, 'I didn't feel that I "represented" the Church of Scotland, no. I lived with the people and my tie was with UCZ. ...It was different in that way, perhaps, from the early ideas of mission in Africa—missionaries representing something wider rather than just getting on with the job to hand.' Another significant change with the shift to UCZ oversight was the ending of the long-standing policy that gave missionary societies exclusive access to specific parts of the country (Smith, 1928). After 1965 our Church of Scotland interviewees, long accustomed to the rural stations that were located where Livingstone himself had lived and worked, found themselves moved to parts of Zambia where Scottish missionaries had never been. For the older missionaries, being sent to new territories by the UCZ meant crossing frontiers that had nearly been inviolate for half a century. Similar moves occurred in Malawi (Good, 2004).

The formation of the UCZ happened the same year as the Unilateral Declaration of Independence south of the Zambezi in Rhodesia, an event that isolated Zambia from trade with Rhodesia and brought financial hardships. Significantly during this period, the donations from the 'home' mission societies struggled to keep up with the cost of maintaining mission hospitals and the Zambian government took them over in 1967 (Lyon, 1998). Scottish medical missionaries remained working at the hospitals with

salaries covered by overseas donations but the hospitals were Zambian and the missionaries worked for the United Church of Zambia. Several interviewees spoke of these rapid changes after independence and their concern with rapid moves towards nationalisation, increasing corruption and economic downfall. One of our interviewees, who arrived at the end of the 1960s and remained until the early 1990s, had no experience of the colonial period and always felt answerable always to the UCZ, mainly worked in urban settings and did not feel part of a wider Church of Scotland missionary network. Instead of joining a Scottish missionary organisation to work in a British colony, her life was one of an expatriate missionary in a Zambian church (albeit still funded by Scottish donations). These changes could be read as one of Livingstone's legacies: the development of central Africa into modern, developed societies that worked in cooperation with Britain. For those missionaries who experienced the changes first-hand it was an exciting time.

Articulating the meaning of Livingstone in missionary life

During and after his life Livingstone inspired Christian missions of many denominations to work in central Africa; perhaps the link was most direct for Scottish missionaries (although all our interviewees reminded us that Livingstone's early work in Africa was done under the auspices of the London Missionary Society). Our interviewees worked in the same part of the world where Livingstone travelled and, as Scots, they came from the same country where Livingstone was born. Those two geographical poles of Livingstone's life were the same as their own and his career provided a sense of location for their own work and travels; they were literally following in his footsteps. The post-war Scots missionaries also saw themselves as the last of an era. Both in terms of institutional arrangements and the material aspects of their work, Africa changed through the 1950s and 1960s in ways that forever altered the lifestyle of the foreign missionary. Seeing independence come to Zambia and Malawi along with the move to

locally controlled churches signified to them the end of a process that had so clearly been begun by Livingstone; his career gave their own a place within a much longer story that continues today.

When first asked to describe Livingstone's influence and place in their own work, most of our interviewees claimed that he was hardly important at all. However, further discussions about aspects of their missionary life and work were often punctuated by references to Livingstone. This surprised our interviewees. Livingstone was recalled by them to mark a time in the past to compare their situations to and to illuminate the geography of their missionary work. He was also recalled in specific terms concerning his attitude towards Africans, the path of commerce, civilisation and Christianity, his treatment of his wife and children, projections of his political views to the 1950s and 1960s, his role as an icon for nationalist politics, and his usefulness as a figure with which to make sense—to Scottish audiences—of missionary objectives in the mid-twentieth century. Without Livingstone's legacy, the missionary movement in central Africa would have looked very different.

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Caption for figure 1

Poster advertising the centennial celebration of the death of David Livingstone at the location in Zambia where he died.

¹ For more on these events see: <http://www.davidlivingstone200.org/> (accessed 30/01/2013).

² Since 2005 Scotland and Malawi have had an agreement to cooperate closely in supporting Malawi's drive to meet the Millenium Development Goals. Since 2008 Scotland has also been supporting projects in Zambia. The Scottish Government's decision to focus its international aid activity on Malawi and other southern African countries is explicitly linked to Livingstone's legacy. See <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/International/int-dev/mdp> (accessed 30/01/2013).

³ The programme receives support from Scottish charities. See <http://www.thet.org/health-partnership-scheme/health-partnerships/jvalli> (accessed 30/01/2013).